COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 12.] *London, Saturday, 25th September*, 1802. [Price 10D

CONTENTS.—*Report on the Tr. bet. Fr. & Turk.* 353. *Turkish Grant*, 354. *Let. from Stock.* 355. *Let. to Ld. Hawkes.* 361. *Marti.* 367. *Swiss Insur.* 368. *Amer.* 369. *Germ.* 370. *Ame. Claims*, 372. *The Valais*, 374. *Egypt*, 375. *Mar. Lea. bet. Fr. & Rus.* 375. *State of Tra.* 376. *Mr. Fox, &c.* 378. *Cap. D'Auvergne*, 379.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Report made to the First Consul of France (in Senate), Sept. 7, 1802, relative to the Treaty with Turkey, (See the Treaty, p. 289.)

The distinguishing characteristic of that period in the policy of nations which has ended in the general peace, was a striking opposition of their sentiments and conduct to their true interests. States and kingdoms were betrayed into wars and alliances by a sort of blind fatality. Some made common cause with one another without suppressing their mutual hatred; others, amid mutual hostilities, still continued to wish one another well. In that dissolution of the mutual relations of the states and kingdoms of Europe, which had been long approaching, the accustomed diplomatic law lost all force and truth. Its traditions, its maxims, its local regulations, became vain; and, amidst the confusion of the change, more than one government quite lost sight of the dearest interests, and are themselves menaced with danger, from those habits of policy which they had been accustomed to think the safest, and abandoned itself in this distitution of just counsels, to the vainest terrors, and the most imprudent projects. Such, in particular, were the condition and conduct of the Sublime Porte, at that period of the war when Europe, with astonishment, saw this government take part with the enemies of France. The Sublime Porte soon saw its error; indeed, both at home and abroad, it could discern nothing but what was adapted to make it regret the part it had taken. It saw the conqueror, faithful to his declarations, when he occupied a province of the Ottoman Empire, rule over it with wisdom, make provision for its future prosperity, and even when, by an unprovoked declaration of war, it became a lawful conquest, still to evince by his respect for the manners and the religion of the vanquished, that his primary intentions were unchanged. France, instead of desiring to hurt the prosperity or diminish the strength of Turkey, *had, at that time, no view* but *to render it happier and more powerful*, by introducing into it new elements of civilization, and by opening through its provinces *a grand channel* for the commerce of the world. But the Ottoman government had entered into engagements of which it could not clearly foresee the effects: it was the last to enter into a war by which it had nothing to gain; and was, of course, the last to renounce hostilities. It was till after peace had been concluded among the powers of Europe, that the Ottoman government found itself perfectly free to negotiate. But from the first moment of its being at liberty to treat with France, the two Empires have been mutually at peace. By the treaty of the 25th of June, that peace is complete. That treaty entirely restores the relations which formerly subsists between the two powers. It makes full provision for the interests and wants of the Ottoman Empire, for the interests and the glory of France. The public joy at Constantinople, when this treaty was proclaimed, was such as to prove how highly the friendship of France was there valued. Great errors, great dangers had distinguished the conduct and condition of the Ottoman government, while it was at war with France. *That government now trusts to find the difficulties of its situation constantly alleviated by the friendly counsels of a power that takes a sincere concern in its welfare.* By the treaty, due provision is happily made for the interest *of French commerce.* French citizens engaged in the Turkish trade will now recover their sequestered property, their wonted privileges, and their *wonted ascendency among* the other merchants of Europe trading to the same countries. The compensations due to them are secured by an express stipulation. The *honour of France, and the dignity of its government*, demanded an abolition of certain restrictions, to which its navigation had been hitherto subject. They are abolished, and the navigation of the Black Sea, now free to France, opens to us a communication with the Southern provinces of Russia. The Sovereign of that country, more enlightened than to stoop to the prejudices of vulgar jealousy, knows that whatever opens new channels to the industry of any one nation, is in fact useful to the industry of all. The Sublime Porte wanted only the friendship of France. By the peace which has been concluded, it acquires of that all the benefits. Before it opens a new æra of quiet and security. It can resume its antient maxims. And in the multiplied communications of our trade, with its dominions in Europe, Africa, and Asia; and in the return of mutual confidence between the two governments; it will find all that it wants, to enable it long to maintain the safe and honourable condition to which it has been restored. (Signed) *C. M. Talleyrand.*

The following is a Copy of the Original Grant which is recognised and renewed in the Rescript (See p. 337) *presented to Mr. Stratton, and recorded in the public Register of the Chancery of the British Factory at Constantinople.*

"The friendship and good intelligence which subsist since the most remote times, between the Sublime Port of Solid Glory, and the Court of England, being now crowned by an alliance, founded on principles of the most inviolable sincerity and cordiality; and these new bands thus strengthened between the two courts, having hitherto produced a series of reciprocal advantages, it is not presumptuous to suppose that their salutary fruits will be reaped still more abundantly in time to come. Now, after mature reflection on the representations that the English Minister Plenipotentiary residing at the Sublime

Porte, our very esteemed friend Spencer Smith, has made relative to the privilege of navigation in the Black Sea, for the merchant vessels of his nation; representations that he has reiterated, both in writing and verbally, in conformity to his instructions, and with a just confidence in the lively attachment of the Porte towards his court. Therefore, to give a new proof of these sentiments, as well as of the hopes entertained by the Sublime Porte, of seeing henceforward a multiplicity of new fruits spring from the connexion that has been renewed between the two courts, the assent granted to the before-named Minister's solicitations, is hereby sanctioned as a sovereign concession and gratuitous act on the part of his Imperial Majesty, and to take full and entire effect as soon as farther amicable conferences shall have taken place, with the minister our friend, for the purpose of determining the burthen of the English vessels, the mode of transmit by the Canal of Constantinople, and such other regulations and conventions as appertain to the object, and which shall be as exactly maintained and observed with regard to the English navigation, as towards any other the most favoured nation. And in order that the minister, our friend, do inform his court of this valuable grant, the present rescript has been drawn up and delivered to him.—*Constantinople, 1. Jemazi-ul-Evvell, A. H.* 1214, *30th October, A. D.* 1799.

TO THE EDITOR.*

Stockholm, Augt. 20, 1802.

Sir,—We observe that it is your opinion (see Register, p. 152), that the remarks contained in our Letter of the 5th of July, (see Register, p. 129) will be considered by the leading politicians of your country as ridiculous projects. Pray, Sir, as a well-wisher of your native land, will you be pleased to inform its rulers, that at this time there are to be procured charts, with descriptions of four very remarkable modern military expeditions, to wit,—One conducted by a *Nadir-Chab* from Ispahan to Deli and back by the Caspian Sea—One by a General *Sawarow* from the Nieper in Russia to the Var on the Italian frontiers of France—One by *Buonaparté* from Toulon to Cairo and St. Jean d'Acre—And one by General *Leclerc* from Brest to St. Domingo.—Were these charts and descriptions put into English, and properly explained by a person of talents and prophetic sagacity, such a person per example, as he who translated, and wrote the *notes* on, Buonaparté's intercepted letters, we are persuaded they would be to John Bull as good as a pinch of Scots snuff, they would clear his eyes and make him see further beyond the end of his nose than he appears to do. These said charts, if you, Sir, lay along-side of them a fair draught of your treaty of Amiens with Lord Cornwallis and Mr. Merry's remarks, and a sketch of the Prime Consul's diplomacy since that treaty was ratified,* will, we presume, make all the extravagance of our before-mentioned letter disappear; and will shew you to woeful demonstration the easy possibility of carrying the sublime plan of the august Buonaparté into execution. You will see, Sir, what never ought to have been seen: you will see Russia and France hand-in-hand, with—not a paper map (that's your share) but with the real material globe under their joint command, and at their immediate disposal.

Out of the junction of France and Russia you will see come forth a Consulta, containing: 1st. A chart, whereon is marked and definitively settled the frontiers of the several *arrondisments* into which Europe is to be divided: the ranks and titles of the respective prefects, princes, electors, kings, and consuls, are marked on the margin with a *lead pencil* †. 2d. A charter, wherein the liberty of the sea, an universal *reciprocité* in trade and intercourse, and *free ships, free goods*, are allowed to the contracting parties, at least, for a time, or until the British trident shall lose its teeth.‡ This charter shall be signed and sworn to by the several prefects, princes, electors, kings, and consuls as they enter into office; and Mr. President Jefferson shall be invited to be a principal party. In case some British ambassador, more *adroit* than ordinary, should find out, in a foreign newspaper, by his hair-dresser, or through a *chère amie*, that the other articles in this Consulta are not exactly correspondent with the repeated declarations of your peace-makers, to justify

---

* *Note of the Editor.*—This letter comes from the same gentleman, who favoured us with the letter, from the same place, dated 5th July, which will be found in page 129 of this volume.—That letter conveyed to the British public, and even to *the British Ministry*, the first intimation that either of them received of the *new division of Germany*.

* The Consul's negotiations cannot be unknown to Lord Hawkesbury, who has the *admired Mr.* Merry at Paris. Pray, Mr. Editor, did that minister say, in his dispatch, what the Consul admired him and his countrymen for—whether for the loyal phrase of the patriotic colonel, or for the brilliant wit and dignity of the ambassador on that occasion.

† *Notes of the Editor.*—When our correspondent wrote his letter, he did not know that the honest Talleyrand would so soon oblige us with this *chart*, which has lately been presented to the Diet of Ratisbon.

‡ This alludes to a second convention, not yet published, between France and Russia, and of which some intimation has leaked out, in several parts of the Continent. It was mentioned in the Hamburgh papers three weeks ago.

the penetration of Lord Hawkesbury, and not to set the meek Addington in a rage before the time, the publication of several points, such as those respecting the organization of Persia and Turkey, the *emancipation* of Hindostan, and the *appropriation* * of Brasil, with other matters, will be postponed until the contracting parties have so disposed their respective forces as to insure the complete realization of their plan: for example—until the French have in America and the West-Indies a force sufficient to secure Brazil (your islands will fall of themselves); until her depôts at the Cape and the Isle de France be properly seconded with a naval depôt and station at the Comoro Islands. These matters will now soon be accomplished; and in the mean time the Russian army will have procured (sneer who pleases) a free passage through the tracks explored by Tahmas-Kouly-Khan. —Now, Sir, 60,000 French European troops in the West-Indies and America, a Russian General *Maskofskai Goubernater* in Persia, with a proper suit, and every port between Archangel and Bombay in a state to bar out the British flag, will Buonaparté's project of confining the British empire to its European islands appear still extravagant and ridiculous? Or is it the attempt to send such armies to Persia and America that appears extravagant to your modest men? In that case pray be so good as to inform them that the difficulties are already, or by the time you will receive this, surmounted. And as to the extravagance of shutting the ports of Europe and Africa against John Bull's horns, a glimpse of the treaty whereon his lordship signed away Malta and the Cape, will perfectly satisfy those who have ordinary eyes.—We foreigners are forced to look upon John Bull as being a quiet kind of a man! We recollect his ministers asserted lately, and it went down like laudadum, "that although the peace of Amiens "should not be of long duration, yet it was "a good one, as it gave government time "to recruit its resources by a saving eco-"nomy!" Should John attempt another war, pray, Sir, will these promised savings reinstate him in the possessions he held at the peace? No: nor will they, with the whole property he has remaining, enable him to preserve the possessions he yet retains. Pray, Sir, which are most culpable in the eyes of the rational part of mankind, those persons who upset the throne of the Bourbons, and extended the dominion of France over half the world, or those, who, whether from ignorance or pusillanimity, or whatever other quality or motive, have surrendered not only the out-works, but also the bulwarks of their country, into the hands of its most powerful and implacable enemy? *

Sir, if John Bull would like to read the preface of Buonaparté's Consulta with Russia and Prussia, we think the Regency of Hanover would procure you a copy from Ratisbon: it is not ill worth reading to those who *understand* what they read.† Some family affairs, such as the birth-day of the Empress Dowager of Russia, a *dejeuné* given at Charlottenburg to Ambassador Alopeus by the Queen of Prussia, and the ——— of Madame Buonaparté, have hitherto prevented these respective courts from answering the repeated memorials of H. B. M. on the subject of indemnification; but they will be taken into consideration, as soon as the other parties are in settled possession of their several allotments. The dictatorial ministers say, this mode of proceeding is perfectly agreeable to Mr. Addington and Co.—Christian children, after giving away John's cloak, are resigned to give the coat and breeches also!

You would have nothing in the Mediterranean; well, Buonaparté and his ally Alexander are not so scrupulous; nor are theyso ungrateful to their friends as you are: they have got *Candia, Cyprus,* the *Grecian Islands* in the Archipelago, *Negrepont,* the *Moréa,* &c. disposed of—but you will

* Terms, which, in consideration of the delicate ears (we are not afraid of the eyes) of Mr. Addington, we have substituted for the unmannerly phrases, *conquest* and *partition.*

* Madam Buonaparté says, that the French have long been deceived with respect to the national character of the English. "Meanly run-"ning after the meanest of things; sheepish and "cringing to the bold and powerful, bold and in-"solent to the timid and the weak; cowards in "the field, brutes at the table, and men only "amongst horses and w———."‡

‡ *Note of the Editor.*—It must be confessed, that the peace of Amiens, so mean, so dishonourable, so base an act, justifies almost any thing that the foes of this country can say, or conceive, of its inhabitants; but, though we may yield to Madam Buonaparté's superior judgment on some of the qualities she attributes to our countrymen, we cannot do the same as to the others: and, we are persuaded, that her husband, unless he has forgotten the deeds of Sir Sidney Smith as completely as the British government seems to have done, will acknowledge, that there is one Englishman, at least, who is not *a coward in the field.*

† *Note of the Editor.*—The writer here alludes to the convention and declaration of France and Russia, which was not published on the 20th of August, the date of his letter.

have the particulars ere this time from Lord Elgin, a most active, and penetrating minister, whose mission has been useful to himself, and, no doubt, to his country also.

Mr. Editor, as it is a well known fact that, by the bulls and bores of John's cabinet, he lost America, and has added that now formidable power to his other enemies; and as it is equally well known that John's present bulls have no horns, (we mean political, *not* domestic horns) we would have you request of him to send out the experienced negotiators of Amiens to wind up his affairs with the native sovereigns of India: for you may assure him, upon the authority of the combined world with Buonaparté and Alexander at its head, that that oriental star will as certainly be plucked out of his cap, as it is certain that a Mr. Addington and a Lord Hawkesbury are his conductors or states pilot; should they themselves *weather the storm*, then pray to the clement Consul to have mercy upon the crew! if your peace-makers have prepared for themselves a reward in the kingdom of heaven, and are not disposed soon to take possession, you should beseech them to provide a birth *there* for their countrymen also; for a year or two more in peace will bring your earthly kingdom nearly to a close.

August 24.

A few days ago we inclosed a few remarks upon the political occurrences of the day—if you will give any part or paragraph of them a place in your interesting Register you will oblige one of its readers.

Perhaps, Sir, you may think us Swedes and Danes inimical to the British government—believe us, we are not. We are, and have dire cause to be, angry with those men who have driven us under the iron *knudt* of a sovereign foe; and who have brought their own country to the brink of, shall we say, *inevitable* ruin. The political influence of Great-Britain annihilated, our bondage is consolidated.

Sir, with the independent friendship of Sweden and Denmark, little as you think of us, you had the Baltic open to your trade, and your navy with ours could have regulated the affairs of Germany, Turkey, Persia, &c. at the gates of Petersburgh. With Malta or other invulnerable ports in that quarter, you prevented the junction of France and Russia at Constantinople or in the Black Sea; and you controled their operations. We repeatedly offered your ministers not only our friendship but our co-operation, without subsidy or other consideration, our own independency was motive enough to us; but they spurned at our advances, and treated our sovereigns with contempt; and although the power of Austria be *broken down and set out of the question*, you have given up the Mediterranean and its coasts on both sides, to be possessed and appropriated by the Consul and his friends!

If you think we cannot shut the Baltic, you will be undeceived when too late: then says John Bull, "the fools lose more than "we do!!"—Sir, we lesser powers will lose, we know, and therefore we courted your friendship; but that you will interrupt the operations of our mistress Russia by blocking in her maritime trade—you may as well pretend to arrest the currents in the pacific ocean: and whatever she undertakes we must second. When Buonaparté is ready, or before he provokes a quarrel with men like yours, the British fleet nor a British ship will have neither port nor point where to fill a cask of fresh water between the Lands-end to Botany Bay. Let your ministers laugh if they please: of those who laugh at every thing, and blush at nothing, little can be expected.

But, Mr. Editor, let us not give up all hope—it is yet possible, perhaps, to save something. Request of John Bull, Sir, to employ a calculator or two, who know the criterion whereby to measure the powers and stability of a state, whose sources and vital springs are detached from one another and lie at certain distances, and who can compare the result with the powers of a state whose force issues from its centre; let him then personally review his troops, and compose his etat-major of such officers and men as have seen service, and as hold a certain rank personally as well as in the opinion of the public. The throne is an old chair, if you will keep it on its legs you must not make it a play thing for boys. A French scribbler reproached Frederick II. once, that, his Majesty preferred birth to talents—the king said, "flowering shrubs "are pretty enough, and may have their "use in the window seats of my cabinet; "but *old oaks* shade my dwelling." Should you find John disposed to take any notice of these hints, then, Sir, beg of him to look at, and speak with, his diplomatic agents, before he sends them abroad. We are sure he had no acquaintance of those *lately* kept amongst us, or he would not have so far compromised his own reputation as to suffer his representatives to dispense with all the characterestics of gentlemen, to brave the rules of public morality, and to set common

decency at defiance. The Jacobin agents of France have now changed their *grossièreté* into an appearance of decorum—do advise yours to do so likewise When foreigners see, at the helm of the British empire, *Britons* in whom Britons can confide, and find, in the representatives of the most revered monarch upon earth, men of knowledge and of talents; then all the legitimate sovereigns in Europe will again rally round your ancient oak, and usurpation and blasphemy will hide their polluted heads in the rubbish from whence they crawled forth. But that the men, who have thrown down that bulwark which streams of blood and heaps of treasure had raised around the British empire, should ever again acquire the confidence of Europe, or be able to persuade your countrymen to open their purse or their veins to fight *for* enemies is impossible. O! ye shades of British heroes how your valour is rewarded! *Swenska.*

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY, *His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.*

My Lord,—Having in my last letter to your lordship (page 271), endeavoured to direct your attention to those points, respecting the dictatorial convention of France and Russia, which appeared to me most likely to engage the mind of an Englishman of honest intentions, but of little experience and of circumscribed views; having pointed out, the contempt shewn towards this country, the insults heaped on our sovereign and his government, the injuries which Hanover is to sustain for the sake of Great-Britain, and which the electorate is to be made the instrument of inflicting on the crown of this kingdom, I now propose to take up the general question of policy, arising out of this new partition of Germany.

But, my lord, before I enter on a train of reflections, the chief tendency of which must inevitably be to sehw the evil consequences to be apprehended, to Europe in general, and to England in particular, from the *insulating* system, openly avowed and acted upon, by you and your colleagues, in making and defending the fatal peace of Amiens, it behoves me, to acknowledge, that such an exposition has, in some measure, been anticipated by the natural sense and involuntary expression of the public. Your lordship must recollect, that the newspapers, which, from first to last, opposed and reprobated the war, reprobated, no less severely, all that part of our political system, which has been denominated *continental connexions.* These prints spoke the sentiments of their readers, and it is by no means uninteresting to observe how completely those sentiments have, on this topic, been hanged by the publication of the convention between Russia and France.—"The present "ministers may affect to depreciate the im- "portance of all continental connexions. "Between the use and the abuse there is "infinite difference. We ought neither to be "the slaves of the continental powers, nor "altogether indifferent to their concerns. "*We have an interest wherever it is practicable* "*to oppose the extension and aggrandisement of* "*France.* This can *only* be done by a judi- "cious *alliance with those continental powers* "which have the same interest to pursue. "For England to withdraw wholly from the "Continent, or feebly to exert her influ- "ence, *is a dishonourable abdication of a great* "*dignity and of a great power conferred by* "*Providence for the general happiness of man-* "*kind.*"—Your lordship will scarcely believe, that this passage is extracted from the *Morning Chronicle* (of the 21st Sept.) from the paper which took the lead in the clamour that was for ten years, incessantly kept up against all continental connexions; from the paper, which, under the direction of Mr. Fox and his partizans, demanded peace on any terms, and which has abused and vilified all those, who expressed their disapprobation of that very peace by which England committed this act of "dishonour- "able abdication;" yet, it is very true, that these are the words of that paper, and they may teach your lordship how little reliance ought to be placed on the opinions and affections of what is called the people. Whether the Beekes, the Edens, and the rest of the inland navigation politicians, whether Mr. Wilberforce and the strong corps of wise-acres, will immediately follow the example of the Morning Chronicle, is more than I can say; but I venture to assure your lordship, that, before this day twelvemonth, even the most selfish and most stupid part of the nation will have changed their way of thinking and speaking of continental connexions.

The declaration of France and Russia, proceeds, according to the report of the honest Talleyrand, upon a supposition, that the present state of Germany amounts to nothing less than a *dissolution* of its political body; that the whole empire has undergone a revolution, that all its federative laws and usages have been effaced, that, as to the boundaries of dominion, the map is become a perfect blank, and that France and Russia have, merely out of philanthro-

py and a love of justice, interfered to make a new and equitable distribution of property, of power, and of honour. Whether this supposition be admitted, or not, it has been acted upon, and, therefore, the effect is the same: the balance of Germany, internal and external, is destroyed.

Germany, my lord, in that old system of balanced power, which it has, for some time past, been the fashion to ridicule, was the weight, which, more than any other, kept the scale steady on the Continent. The empire, on one side, touched the states that formerly composed the *balance of the north*; and, by means of the Houses of Austria, Brandenburgh, and Saxony, was connected with that balance. On the other side it touches France, and 'till now much more immediately, without any naturally defensible line of separation; and thus, it affected and influenced, most importantly for this country, what was called the *middle balance*, consisting of Great-Britain, France, and Spain. Again, extending round the Alps, it came into contact with the balance of Italy, and was more closely connected with that country by means of the hereditary possessions of the imperial house.

Such was the operation of the *external* balance of Germany on the other parts of the European system; and of this Mr. Burke says, in the first of his three profound and prophetic memorials, addressed to the ministers: "If Europe does not conceive "the *independence* and the equilibrium of "the empire to be in the very essence of "the system of balanced power in Europe, "and if the scheme of public law, or mass "of laws, upon which that independence "and equilibrium are founded, be of no "leading consequence as they are preserved "or destroyed, *all the politics of Europe, for "more than two centuries, have been miserably "erroneous.*"—And so, doubtless, your lordship will say they have been. This was, at any rate, the language of those who defended the treaty of Amiens, as may yet, perhaps, be seen in the profound and sprightly productions of Sir Frederick Eden and Mr. Chalmers.

With regard to our own interests, the great advantage which we derived from the former state of Germany, was, that the principal military power, the imperial house of Austria, having possessions bordering upon those of France, there was a perpetual source of jealousy between those powers, which made it necessary for our most formidable rival, who was also our constant enemy in every war, to maintain a vast army for the purpose of defence, and not, as at present, with a view to overawe, to disturb, or to subjugate, the dominions of her neighbours. Her efforts were then divided, and her operations by sea crippled. On our side, we were, in a similar manner, if not in the same degree, useful to Austria. Hence a close connexion arose; and, as the maritime power of Great-Britain was, in some measure, the Emperor's, the Emperor favoured that navigation and that commerce, which are at once the foundation of our external power and the great source of our internal prosperity and happiness. But, my lord, these politics now are become fables and tales of other days: the Burleighs and Cecils, the Temples, the Godolphins, the Walpoles, the Pelhams, and the Pitts, the founder of our foreign glory as well as the assertor of our domestic freedom, William III, and Marlborough, not less illustrious in the cabinet than in the field, are all become drivellers and idiots when compared to the "*safe* politicians" of the present day, to the Addingtons, the Hawkesburies, the Wilberforces, to any of that innumerable crowd of prudent men, of parliamentary wise-acres, of calculating statesmen, who, upon the first exaltation of the late minister, rushed forth from the college, the inns of court, the counting-house, and the counter, and who, at the end of eighteen years intense application, have discovered, that the commerce between Manchester and London is more profitable than that with foreign parts, that the navigation on the stormy seas is less lucrative and more hazardous than that on the grand junction canal, that military and naval glory is a mere phantom of a disordered brain, and that money is the only legitimate and effectual means of national defence.

As to the internal balance of the Germanic empire, my lord, it was necessarily connected with religious differences of opinion, and principally consisted in this, that there was an ascendency in behalf of those of the known Roman Catholic persuasion, which was the ancient religion of the empire, and always, hitherto, that of the Emperor, while, at the same time, there was such a counterpoise in favour of the established forms of Protestant worship, as effectually secured to the members of the latter communions liberty of conscience, and a just share in the honours and dignities of the empire. The number of ecclesiastical electorates gave Austria a sure preponderance in that college, and, together with the other great Catholic prelacies, also af-

forded the means for providing for the younger branches of the imperial family. These electorates were essential to the internal balance of Germany; and, by securing the imperial throne to the House of Austria, they were essential also to that system of English policy, which depended on our alliance with the House of Austria against the encroaching and overspreading ambition of France.

All these component parts are (as I shall endeavour more fully to show, by and bye) now completely torn to pieces. The Germanic body is dissolved. It is now to assume some other form. However, it is not to regenerate itself. France has kindly undertaken to restore it to life. The surgeons of the Humane Society at the Thuilleries have happily succeeded in this charitable experiment for the benefit of all Europe. A Russian practitioner has been called in, but this was evidently done more to wonder at the skill and dexterity of the French operator than to assist in the operation. There is, in the report of the honest Talleyrand, a studied ostentation of the superiority of France in the negotiation; and, the result was first communicated, not to the Diet of the Empire, but to the Conservative Senate of France, a body, which certainly had nothing to do in the execution of the project, and which, neither by the first nor second of Buonaparté's constitutions, appears to have any concern with the foreign affairs of the republic, but to which, perhaps, it was, in this instance at least, intended to give some shadowy likeness to that senate, which antiently bestowed kingdoms at its discretion. Observe, too, my lord, that the communication was made to the Diet of Ratisbon in the French language only, and not accompanied, as had hitherto been the invariable custom, with a translation into Latin, the constitutional language of the empire. This has been justly remarked in a late Jacobin paper to be *an indication of a disposition to universal empire*; but, my lord, that which startles even those who so recently saw no danger in the aggrandizement of France, who wept over our victories, because they tended to a prolongation of our struggle against that aggrandizement, who, day after day, were clamouring and hallooing to drive their country into the toils of her pursuer, who rejoiced when she was caught by the peace of Amiens, and who liked that peace the better for having severed us from the Continent of Europe; that which startles and astounds even these men, makes no impression on his Majesty's ministers, on those "*safe* politicians," those cool and calculating statesmen, who, with the utmost composure, publish the receipts of their custom-house as more than a balance against all the insults and injuries which they have brought upon their country and their sovereign.

The pretext for the Consul's interference is by no means less novel than the manner of it, nor less material to be weighed and considered in this discussion. It was this: *a preponderating mediation of two powers, perfectly disinterested* (that is, in other words, having no right to interfere) *was necessary to effect, in the internal affairs of Germany, what would in vain have been expected from the internal deliberations of the Germanic body!* What extent would such a principle of interference, as this, go to; or rather, how perfectly illimitable is it? It puts the internal constitution of every country, governed by balanced powers and deliberative assemblies, totally at the mercy of the strongest. On such a pretext, France, if at peace with us, might have presented a plan for the Union of Ireland, when the measure was voted here and rejected there: she may now interfere between his Majesty's cabinet in England and the house of assembly of Jamaica; and, if her present conduct be winked at and passed over in silence, who shall say that she has not a right to interfere in any of the hundreds of disputes, which are continually arising between the federal and state governments of the American union? In short, to set up, and act upon, a pretext like this, required nothing less than the perfection of impudence and insolence, together with the consciousness of controulable power. And here, my lord, I cannot help reminding your lordship, that, if ever this subject should be discussed in Parliament, you and your colleagues must certainly lay your account with the loss of the support, on this particular point, of all those patriots, who approved of the treaty of Amiens, and who were formerly so loud in their cries *against all interference in the internal affairs of France*, even though that country was at the time in a state of commotion; though the rebellious people had imprisoned, and afterwards murdered, their lawful sovereign, and though they openly avowed their intention to extend, by fraud or by force, their principles and their example to every nation in the world, and particularly to Great-Britain. Yet, my lord, be not alarmed: the men, who maintained that principle; the men who, even in the days of Robespierre and Buonaparté, conti-

nued to declaim against the war as a crusade against *liberty*; the men who could, with such wonderful facility, transfer their affections from one set of despots to another; the men who could follow, with unimpaired zeal and admiration (I might almost say allegiance) the French Republic through all the follies and all the horrors of her revolution; those men, be you assured, my lord, will not be ashamed to justify the present interference of the domineering Consul; and, therefore, your lordship may confidently anticipate, the entire, the undisturbed, and unenvied enjoyment of all the honour to be derived from their support.

From this digression I should now return to the subject of the electorates, but want of time compels me to defer it to my next. In the mean time, I am, my lord, your lordship's most humble and most obedient servant, WM. COBBETT,

London, Sept. 24, 1802.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, Sept. 7.—The Moniteur of this date contains a letter from BERTIN, the colonial Prefect of Martinico, giving an account of his taking possession of that colony, and of the great joy of the inhabitants, on the occasion.—N.B. This letter will be inserted at length in the Supplement to the present volume.—It has in it nothing immediately interesting.

The Moniteur also contains the following arrêté.—

"*Sept.* 1, 1802.—The Consuls of the republic, on the report of the minister of finance, and with the advice of the Council of State, decree:—Art. I. New cordage of French manufacture, tarred or untarred, may be exported, on paying a simple countervailing duty. II. Pitch raw or prepared, tars and rosins of French production, may be exported on paying the following duties: 1. When exported on board French vessels, 25 cents. per myriagram. 2. When exported in foreign vessels, 50 cents. III. Undressed hides, imported from foreign parts, shall be subject, at their entry, to a duty of 25 cents. only, in the same manner as those imported from the French colonies. IV. Comfits, entered inwards from foreign parts, shall be subject to a duty on importation of 35 fr. 5 myriagrams. V. The importation of molasses, being the production of foreign colonies, is prohibited." *Signed, &c. in the usual manner.*

Sept. 14.—The First Consul, in virtue of 63d Article of the organic Senatus Consultum, has appointed to the rank of Senators the following Citizens:—Abrial, Minister of Justice. Fouché, Minister of Police. Dubelloy, Archbishop of Paris. Rœderer, President of the Section of the Interior of the Council of State. And Aboville, First Inspector General of the Artillery. On the same day Citizen Regnier, President of the Section of Legislation, and Counsellor of State, was appointed High Judge and Minister of Justice. Citizen Boulay, Counsellor of State, and President of the Section of Legislation, is appointed to adjudge the claims respecting the National Domains, in the room of Citizen Regnier. Citizen Fourcroy, Counsellor of State, replaces Citizen Rœderer, and in the direction and superintendance of public instruction. Citizen Bigot de Preameneu, Counsellor of State, is appointed President of the Section of Legislation, in the room of Citizen Boulay. Citizen Regnaud (de Saint Jean d'Angely), is appointed President of the Section of the Interior, in the room of Citizen Rœderer. Citizen Lacuée, Counsellor of State, is named President of the Section of the War Office, in the room of General Brune, appointed Ambassador to the Sublime Porte. The following Citizens have been appointed Counsellors of State, viz.—Treilard, President of the Tribunal of Appeal for Paris. Collen, Director-General of the Customs. L. Haumont, Prefect of the Lower Rhine. Petit, Prefect of the department of Vaucluse. Dauchy, Prefect of the department of L'Aisne.

Basle, Sept. 12.—All the Eastern part of the Helvetic republic, with the exception of Turgovia, and a part of the Grisons, is in a state of open rebellion against the constitutional authorities.—Besides the three small cantons, those of Glarus, Appenzel, Rheinthal, Zug, and Baden, have declared themselves to be in a state of insurrection.—In Zug, the presence even of a battalion of infantry could not prevent the insurrection from breaking out. The other cantons abound with emissaries from the small cantons, who hold out promises of the abolition of all taxes, of the re-establishment of the Landsgemeinde, and sometimes of the plunder of all persons of property.—These perfidious suggestions have had this singular effect, that the partizans both of oligarchy and of democracy unite together to destroy that constitution which was a few months ago adopted by a large majority. If they succeed in their designs (which may fortunately be prevented by the interposition of France), there will be a civil war between those parties who have now formed a tem-

porary union for the purpose of destroying the government.—The canton of Baden is at this moment occupied in forming its landsgemein. The municipalities have been invited to send deputies to the chief town to concert measures upon this subject. Reding's brother, who has resided for some time at Baden, is at the head of the insurgents. The Argovian district of Bruck has also been invited to join with the male-contents of Baden. The central government has sent select persons belonging to Zurich and Friburg into these districts to put an end to the disturbances.—Illegal assemblies having been held at Zurich, a detachment of Helvetic troops was sent thither from those stationed in the middle district of the *Pays de Vaud*. The burgesses of Zurich shut the gates against them, and proposed terms which military honour obliged them to reject. Hostilities were commenced, and we this moment learn, that the city of Zurich has been bombarded by the Helvetic troops. The commissary of government, Muy, has received orders to expedite his departure.

Paris 22d. Sep.—We learn by the way of Nantes, that at the departure of *La Brune* from the cape at St. Domingo, on the 1st of August, the two frigates sent to the isle of Tortue had arrived there. The Negroes had been reduced, the most mutinous punished, and tranquillity re-established. Some habitations have been burnt, and about a dozen of whites, women and children, have fallen victims to the insurrection.—The frigate *La Valeureuse*, returned to Brest from St Domingo, announces the approaching return of the three ships *Le Pesaiole, Tourville*, and *Le Zélé*.—Citizen Perignon, senator, is appointed extraordinary commissioner to regulate, conformably to the basis of the 7th article of the treaty of peace between France and Spain, every thing relative to the rectification of the limits of the two states on the side of the Pyrennees.

American States.—New York papers have been received of the 11th of August, from which it would appear that some degree of alarm respecting the contagious fever still prevailed both in New York and Philadelphia. The following articles are copied from the New York Daily Advertiser:—"The favourable state of the health of this city is apparent from the list of deaths for last week, which falls short of the week preceding.—The greatest mortality prevails, as is usual through the summer months, among children—the proportion between them and adults being as three to one.—By private accounts yesterday from Philadelphia, we learn, that the alarm respecting the fever was still very great, and that the inhabitants were very generally removing from the city, as the most effectual means of preventing the ravages of this dreadful distemper.—A French frigate of 54 guns and 400 men, Capt. Tailleur, three months from Brest, on a cruize, has put in at this port for water and provisions. She had anchored at the quarantine ground. Three other frigates, it is said, may be expected."

Stuttgard, Sept. 12.—The assembly of the deputies of the imperial cities of Suabia, which met about a month since, has separated without coming to any resolution. Six of the cities, amongst whom Augsburg is one, took no part in the deliberations.—The latest courier from Munich, brings the intelligence of the Austrians having occupied the county of Neuburg, which extends from the Inn to the banks of the Danube. It appears that they also proposed to interrupt the communication between the Bavarian troops posted at Vilshoffen, and at Saint Nicholas. General Deroi immediately placed troops along the Danube, to maintain those communications, and proceeded on the 5th to Passau, to confer upon the subject with the Austrian general Shanch. The result of the conference is not known.—A report has prevailed for some days at Munich, that the Austrians were disposed to evacuate Passau, but it has been contradicted by late events. We learn, on the contrary, that there is an intention of forming a second camp at Wels, on the frontier of High Austria. M. de Buol, the Austrian envoy at Munich proposed that the elector should evacuate all the countries which he had occupied, on which condition, it was added, the emperor would withdraw his troops from Salzburg, Passau, Berchtolsgaden, &c. but this proposition was not agreed to at Munich.—The Bavarian troops have delayed until now, the taking possession of the different imperial cities of Suabia allotted to the elector. The occupation of those cities has at length taken place within these few days. On the 8th, a detachment entered Noerdlingen, and another Bopfingen.—On the next day Demhulspul was occupied, and also Kauffbenem, Buchhorn, Wangen, and Ravinspurg. In many of these cities, the arrival of foreign troops caused some discontent, but the magistrates themselves addressed proclamations to their fellow-citizens, inviting them to submit to necessity, and promising that they would do every thing in their power to preserve to the cities a part

of their privileges.—The count de Lerchenfeld, a commissary of the Bavarian government, charged with the particular confidence of the elector, is arrived at Augsburg. He notified on the 10th to the imperial officers of the *Prévoté Saint Ulrich*, that a detachment of Bavarian troops would enter the city of Augsburg to take possession of that Prévoté. It is asserted that the magistrates of Augsburg have protested against the entry of a foreign force into that city.—The Bavarian troops stationed in the bishopric of Augsburg, have drawn nearer to the frontiers of the Tyrol, and have occupied the different dependencies of the bishopric of Freysengen inclosed in the Tyrol, and have quietly taken possession of Paterskirch and Mittenwald. Their advanced posts are placed near the important passage of Schavinz, occupied by the Austrian troops.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

In pursuance of the first article of the Convention, made on the 8th of January last (See Register p. 97) with the American States, the following notice has been issued.

"WHEREAS by the first article of the Convention concluded at London, on the 8th day of January last, between his Majesty and the United States of America, the said United States, in satisfaction and discharge of the money which they might have been liable to pay in pursuance of the provisions of the sixth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded at London, on the 4th day of November, 1794, between his Majesty and the said United States (which sixth article, was, by the said Convention declared to be cancelled and annulled, except so far as the same might relate to the execution of the seventh article of the said treaty), engaged to pay; and his Majesty engaged to accept, for the use of the persons described in the said sixth article, the sum of six hundred thousand pounds sterling, payable at the City of Washington, in three annual instalments of two hundred thousand pounds each, and to such person and persons as should be authorised by his Majesty to receive the same; the first of the said instalments to be paid at the expiration of one year, the second at the expiration of two years, and the third and last instalment at the expiration of three years, next following the exchange of the ratification of the said Convention: and by the second article of the said Convention, the fourth article of the Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris on the 3d day of September, 1783, between his Majesty and the said United States, was so far as respected its future operation, recognised and confirmed, so as that the creditors therein described should thereafter meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money of their *bona fide* debts. All persons claiming the benefit of the said first article of the said Convention, are hereby required to lodge, without delay, their several claims in writing, duly subscribed by the respective claimants, or their agents, with James William Hay, Esq. at the Office, No. 7, Great Marlborough-street; and that they therein specially set forth, 1st. Their national character entitling them to claim as his Majesty's subjects: 2dly, The nature and origin of their several debts and demands, and the total amount thereof, principal and interest, reduced to sterling money (the interest being separately stated and distinguished from the principal) with a reference to schedules annexed; the said schedules to contain lists or accounts of the particular debts, the names of the debtors, and their situations and circumstances, so far as the same can be stated, at and subsequent to the conclusion of the peace between his Majesty and the said United States; 3dly, Whether the claimants have at any time proceeded, or are now proceeding at law, in America, for recovering payment of the said debts; and if not, why they have not so proceeded, or are not so proceeding at law? And lastly, the evidence, written or parole, which they are ready or undertake to bring forward in support of their several statements and demands. And all claimants who do not reside in London, or the immediate neighbourhood thereof, are required to appoint agents there residing; and at the time of lodging their claims, to give notice of the names and places of abode of their said agents at the said office. Further it is hereby required, that all relative or incidental representations, statements, and applications shall be made in writing, duly signed by the claimants or their agents, and lodged at the office, where all necessary inquiries respecting the above matter, and the proceedings therein, may be made, and there only.—Office, No. 7, Great Marlborough-street, Sept. 11, 1802."

On the 22d inst. their Majesties came from Windsor to Kew Palace, from whence the King proceeded to town, and held a Levee at St. James's: it being the anniversary of the Coronation, it was observed with the usual demonstrations, and the No-

blemen, who were Knights of the different orders, appeared in ther several insignia.—The presentations to the King were: His Excellency Baron Jacobi, the Prussian Ambassador, on his arrival from his own Court, having been absent on important business these six months.—Lord Keith, on his arrival from abroad.—Baron Herbert, from Germany, was introduced by Mr. Spencer Smith; he is quite a young man, and attracted the notice of the company by the peculiarity of his dress, being attired in a vest of white sattin.—Sir J. Douglas kissed hands on being appointed Equerry to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex.—Mr. Serjeant, Secretary to the new appointed Lords of his Majesty's Treasury.—John Smith, Esq. kissed his Majesty's hand on being appointed Master of the Mint, and was sworn a Member of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council.—A relation to the late General Sloper had an audience of the King, and delivered up the red ribbon worn by that worthy Officer as Knight of the Bath.—Singer Burton, Esq. being appointed Gentleman Usher, and Quarterly Waiter, in the room of Mr. Osmer, attended, and received the usual mark of royal respect.—Lord R. Fitzgerald took leave on setting off on his journey to Lisbon.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

According to intelligence received from Martinico, the French General BERTIN has taken possession of that island, amidst, as he says, the joyous acclamations of the inhabitants. No doubt. Those who felt no joy would certainly feign it. Dispatches from the Isle of France contain, like all other dispatches from the French colonies, high eulogiums on the paternal care of the First Consul. Were Buonaparté, by some mishap, to lose his power of bestowing rewards and punishments, his power of life and death, these eulogiums would, doubtless, as in the case of poor Robespierre, be turned into reproaches and execrations; but, in the mean time, they show that all his subjects, whether near him or far from him, live and move in perfect obedience to his will.—An *arrêté* appears in the *Moniteur* of the 19th, by which all proprietors of estates in St. Domingo, with the exception of those who are disabled by age, infirmity, or sickness, or who are actually employed in the French service, are required to repair thither under the penalty of sequestration of their property. According to intelligence from the Cape, an insurrection in the Isle of Tortue has been suppressed, and several of the negroes punished, after some habitations had been *burnt*, and a few Whites, women and children, had fallen victims to the fury of the Blacks.

The *Valais* has been formed into an *independant* republic, and the formation has been announced to the world, through the Moniteur, by a proclamation, signed by the envoys of the *French*, the *Italian*, and the *Helvetic* Republics. A constitution is to be formed, by France undoubtedly. Buonaparté is styled the *Restorer* of the liberty of the Valais, under which title he will, perhaps, exercise a controul rather more immediate, than that which he exercises over Holland and Spain. Being upon this topic, we cannot forbear to notice, how completely the Italian Republic is identified, in all political concerns, with that of France. The French ambassadors stipulate for it with Algiers and with Denmark, in exactly the same manner as if it were called a *colony*, which it really is, of the French Republic. It is, as to all purposes of war, whether defensive or offensive, much more efficiently united with France than Ireland is with England; and, be it remembered, that it now maintains an army more numerous than this kingdom does. It has no commerce, no manufactures, no bank, no lord-mayor's coach, but it has sixty thousand soldiers, each of whom has sixty rounds of ball-cartridges in his pouch.

The situation of Germany cannot well be described: mortified as the Emperor must be, it is hardly possible for him to show any efficient resentment. It is stated in the foreign journals (see p. 370), that he still opposes some resistance; but it is hardly necessary to repeat the melancholy truth, that he must finally submit. The *wise-acres* tell us, that, *by-and-by*, he will *recruit his strength*, and then he will avenge himself! France and Russia have taken care that his strength shall never be recruited; they have annihilated the means of his recovery, they have cut off "the source from which his "current flows or else dries up;" and we have stood by, unconcerned spectators of the deed.

In Switzerland (see p. 368) the blessings of revolution seem to have arrived nearly to a state of perfection. In addition to the five cantons of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Glaurus and Appenzel, those of Rheinthal, Zuy, and Baden, have now declared themselves in a state of insurrection, and, it appears very evident, that the new Helvetic government will be compelled to call in the *assistance of France*. This is what has been

long expected. Why Buonaparté should seek for a pretext of this sort, or of any sort, it would be difficult to conjecture; but there are, doubtless, circumstances which render it prudent. The selfish policy, which Switzerland, in common with Genoa, Modena, Tuscany, and, indeed, almost all the powers of Europe, adopted with respect to the early stages of the French revolution, it is now, in common with other states and princes, expiating under the well-merited lash of the French Republic.

The honest Talleyrand's avowal with respect to the object of the Egyptian expedition (see p. 353) has been thrown out for the same purpose that the French have always proclaimed, before hand, their hostile intentions towards other countries. But, how secure must Buonaparté feel with respect to our Ministry; how little must he care about the opinions of people in this country; how conscious must he be that we dare not, now or hereafter, attempt to resist him! There are persons who think that he will re-possess Egypt in less than a twelvemonth. It is possible, and, indeed, by no means improbable. The government of Turkey is completely at his command; and, should he obtain Egypt by *cession*, what can we urge against it? His corps of Mamelukes are not maintained with such splendor, and enjoying such singular marks of his favour, merely for the sake of their being brother Mussulmans: it is not piety but politics to which they owe their establishment.

The letter from our correspondent at Stockholm, which will be found in this sheet, page 355, is well worthy of attention, and we beg leave to point out particularly, that part of it, which (rather in an exaggerating way, indeed) speaks of a *second part* of the Convention between France and Russia, treating of maritime affairs, more especially of *neutral navigation and trade*. "Mr. President Jefferson is to be a party," and a party he will gladly be, with the hearty approbation of his country too, if he can thereby procure, not an abandonment, but a *delay* only, of the colonization of Louisiana. With this boon in her hands, France can obtain the accession of America to whatever league she thinks proper to form against this country.—It will soon be seen whether our connexions on the Continent had no influence on our maritime affairs, whether they in no wise tended to strengthen our defence. Mr. Wilberforce will soon see whether England can live without the Continent, and Mr. Pitt will soon see the effect of listening to the advice of such politicians.—The public are already indignant at the loss of the Emperor of Russia's friendship; what, then, will be their feelings when they come to be acquainted with the way in which it was lost! That powerful prince would, doubtless, have come forward, in conjunction with us, for the settlement of Europe; but, our ministers chose to buy a peace for themselves, and to have no communication with him on the subject. He was, of course, thrown into the hands of France. He was obliged, in order to prevent more mischief as well as he could, to concert some arrangement with France, and as we are told by our correspondent (p 129), it was probably done through the mediation of Prussia. The Emperor Alexander was *then* (at least there is every reason to suppose so) willing to have supported a plan for the more effectual independance of Malta. Such a plan is said to have been agreed on. But Buonaparté, who, perhaps, knew this, forced another plan upon us. Russia, in consequence, has refused to guarantee it; and refused, too, with no small displeasure at our weak or treacherous conduct; and, the chance whether "conciliation" or "firmness" be uppermost in Lord Hawkesbury's policy, is to determine, whether we are now to make a surrender of Malta to Buonaparté, even beyond the treaty of Amiens, or to go to war again for Malta alone, when we have given up possession of all our other restitutions.—There can be no doubt which the cool, the prudent, the "*safe* politicians," will do.

But, if these "*safe* politicians" have lost the friendship of Russia; if they have abandoned the empire with all its princes, and, amongst the rest, their own sovereign; if they have brought disgrace upon disgrace on their country; if they have left her not an ally or a friend in the world; if they have endangered her existence as an independant state; they have, as a balance against all these, clearly shewn, that the receipts of the Custom house and Excise-office have increased since the peace.—They have, with all the vanity and pomposity of a merchant's clerk, who talks of his master's profits as if they were his own, published a comparative statement of the sales in one of their principal shops, taking the two first quarters of the year 1801, and the two first quarters of 1802. Their statement is as follows:

"*Exports of British Produce and Manufactures.*

1801.

"Quarter ending 5th of April	£4,716,416
"Ditto ending 5th of July....	4,024,412

1802.

" Quarter ending 5th of April 8,343,961
" Ditto ending 5th of July .. 5,678,446

" *Exports of Foreign Merchandize.*

1801.

" Quarter ending 5th of April 1,109,608
" Ditto ending 5th of July.... 1,161,814

1802.

" Quarter ending 5th of April 1,782,067
" Ditto ending 5th of July.... 1,369,756

" The excise," it is added, " has been " productive in a proportionate degree. " During the last two months, it has ave- " raged £220,000 per week, being at the " rate of above fourteen millions a year. " If such is *already* the case, what may we " not expect will be the increase of our " commercial prosperity, as peace conti- " nues to expand her golden pinions."— This is, we are well assured, a very fallacious statement Advantage has been taken of every circumstance that could be brought to aid in making up a shew. We by no means, however, doubt that the exports of the two first quarters of peace have exceeded those of the two first quarters of 1801. Who ever expected the contrary? How many cargoes were kept in waiting for that diminution in the rates of freight and insurance, which peace must inevitably produce. The negotiations were going on for eight months, during the whole of which time, the shippers were keeping back all the goods which it was not absolutely necessary to send off. Let it be observed, too, (what, indeed, was a hundred times observed during the discussions on the peace) that the shops on the Continent were all empty; that the increased demand for British manufactures, for two or three years even was to be expected, unless France, before the expiration of that time, chose to prohibit them. To the colonies also an extraordinary shipment, for the first year or so of peace, must of course take place; and, therefore, to affect to deduce from the exports of the two last quarters an argument in favour of a regular increase of trade " as peace continues to expand her golden pinions," is a gross attempt at imposition, especially when the fallacy of it is so amply proved by the statement itself; for, if the 1st quarter exported *eight* millions and the 2d quarter only *five* millions, what reason is there to suppose, that trade will *increase* " as peace continues to expand her golden pinions." ? Indeed, this sudden decrease clearly proves, that the vast rise of the first quarter (and, doubtless, part of that of the second quarter) over the quarters of 1801, is to be attributed almost entirely to the release of cargoes, locked up by the war.

But, if we were to allow, that the peace had really produced an increase of trade, and that this increase would continue to grow as long as the peace should last, are the " *safe* politicians" quite sure, that this circumstance is likely to contribute to the *duration* of that " blessing"? Are they quite sure that it may not, on the contrary, be the very thing above all others, which will make Buonaparté hasten the application of his fatal shears to the " golden pinions" of peace; more especially when he recollects that the discreet statesmen, the " *safe* politicians," have openly avowed, that their object is to save up a little money, in order to be able again to enter the field, and to defeat the consummation of his projects? Are they quite sure that it was prudent to indulge, on this occasion, their " proud exultation," and to " hope, " that the statement will not be prohibited " in the French news-papers"? Are they quite sure, that they shall not have cause to repent of their shopkeeper-like wit, their purse-proud exultation? The coward never should cry, roast-meat. The goose with the golden eggs should steal silently from her nest.

Every thing that we have heard, since our last, strengthens, rather than impairs, the opinion expressed in Mr. Cobbett's letter (see p. 338.) as to the motives and probable consequences of the visit, which Mr. Fox and his friends are now paying to Buonaparté. The persons composing this charmingly select party, are, Lords Holland and Oxford, Mr. Adair, Gen. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and the man of the people himself. " Into their as- " sembly come not thou, my soul; unto " their council be not thou united?" We do not know that the others are admitted to any private parties with the Consul, or with the honest Talleyrand; but the man of the people is so admitted almost every day, and, in short, is honoured with the perfect friendship and confidence of Buonaparté, who, in the undisguised, the marked, the ostentatious favour which he shows to the well-known and irreconcileable enemy of Mr. Pitt, fully proves, that he has, with respect to England, some object in view, which no ministry, supported by Mr. Pitt, will ever suffer him to accomplish. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine any thing, to which those who surrendered Nappy Tandy, might not be reasonably expected to consent; but, doubtless,

the First Consul, who has a most fertile imagination, has, at last, made the discovery.—Mr. Cobbett, in order to shew the fallacy of the pretext for Mr Fox's visit to Paris, observed, that, from the well-known state of the patriot's eyes, it was fair to presume, that he could not *read* the Stuart manuscripts, in the Scotch college; but, he might have observed, that neither Mr. Fox nor any body else could *read* them, the said manuscripts having been *burnt long enough ago*, a circumstance of which there is every reason to suppose Mr. Fox was well acquainted. This is pretty nearly conclusive as to the *pretext* of the visit.—The *military honours*, too, which were bestowed on him, have been by no means sufficiently dwelt on. The officers commanding at St. Omers, Lisle, &c &c. might, indeed, have heard of Charles Fox; but, if we can at all suppose it probable, that they would, of their own accord, have drawn out their men for the purpose of honouring him, we must suppose, that they had heard a great deal of him, that they were acquainted with his character, his principles, and his party politics; and, if so, they must have known, that he was the leader of the opposition, the sworn foe of Mr. Pitt, and of the men who have served him as instruments in making the peace with Buonaparté. If they knew enough of Mr. Fox to have contracted for him any great degree of admiration, they must have had great fears of showing that admiration, lest, as being a mark of hostility to the British ministry, it should bring on them the displeasure of Buonaparté, whom they must necessarily suppose to have a desire to live in friendship with that ministry. Whether, therefore, they were acquainted with the character, principles, and party of Mr. Fox, or whether they were not, it is evident, that they would not have paid him military honours, or, indeed, any honours at all, *unless they had received orders to that effect from Paris*, and this necessarily supposes a previous correspondence with Paris on the subject of his journey.

While Mr. Fox, "the patriot Fox," the "man of the people," the "champion of "British freedom," is bowing at the levees, and basking in the favour, of the absolute, the military master of republican France, in a prison, not many paces from the scene of his sycophancy, the object of his adulation has lately immured a British gentleman, who was serving his king and country at the risk of his life, while "the man of the people" was giving evidence at Maidstone, or perchance, reading lectures at the Shakespeare, on the useful science of *casbiering kings*. We allude here to the imprisonment of *Captain D'Auvergne*, who is sometimes called Prince de Boullion, as being the heir at law of the late nobleman of that name, but who is an Englishman by birth, who never has, in any way whatever, forfeited his rights as a British subject, who has been in the British navy from his infancy, and who has served in Jersey, with distinguished honour, during almost the whole of the war which has just ended. This gentleman, Buonaparté has, within these few days, imprisoned in the Temple. Under what pretext is not known. That he has no right to imprison him is certain, and we wait with impatience to see how the "*safe* politicians" will proceed; which of their specifics, "conciliation" or "firmness," they will make use of to defend the honour and the life of a most valuable subject of His Majesty.—That Captain D'Auvergne would soon lose his liberty, and even his life, than owe either of them to the intercession of Charles Fox, we are certain; but, it is not inapplicable to observe here, that, at the very moment this gallant and loyal officer is deprived of his freedom, against all the laws of nations, of honour, and of hospitality, Mr. Fox is receiving public thanks from a deputation of Frenchmen, who were, during the war, prisoners in England, and who affect to have owed all the good treatment they received, not to the justice and humanity of His Majesty's government, but solely and entirely to the pathetic eloquence of Mr. Fox. Our readers must have seen, in most of the London daily papers, a translation from the papers of Paris, giving an account of the scene, to which we have here alluded, and which must have been truly diverting. Some impudent carmagnole was found to make a speech full of falsehood and bombast, reminding Mr. Fox of his *generous* interference in behalf of the French prisoners in England, at the close of which, the Morning Chronicle says, Mr. Fox *pathetically* replied, in a manner and an accent most affecting: "*O, yes, Sir, I remember!*" In what part of this reply the pathos is to be found we are at a loss to say, but we are told that the audience were so moved by it, that they burst into *tears*, in which they were joined by the man of the people! We, too, do remember something about the parliamentary speeches, relative to French prisoners of war; and, we could fill this sheet with most atrocious calumnies, uttered, on that sub-

ject, by Mr. Fox and his friends, against His Majesty's government. We remember, too, that while these patriots were lavishing their care and generosity on the French prisoners in England, not one of them was ever known to discover the least anxiety respecting the English prisoners in France, though it was notorious that they were treated with savage barbarity.

None of the London news-papers have yet attempted to defend Mr. Fox's visit to the Consul. Their silence would be somewhat mysterious, if it were not evident that they know not what to say. The Jacobins will justify all; but, there is a middle race, who are, perhaps, Jacobin in heart, but who, from some motive or other, occasionally discover the semblance, at least, of English feeling, who will not, all at once, publickly approve of the cabals at Paris. No confidence, however, is to be placed in these men. They will endeavour to steer between Fox and the ministry, 'till they perceive that the former really comes backed with the efficient, active support of Buonaparté, and the moment they are well satisfied of that, they will throw themselves at his feet. This is a season of very refined speculation: the destinies of the British government and Bank occupy the thoughts of the patriots day and night. There is amongst them an animation and bustle like those which are perceivable in a flock of crows upon the approaching demise of an unfortunate quadruped.

TYRO *will see that it was out of our power to insert the conclusion of his valuable article. It shall appear in our next. We hope frequently to hear from him.*

Complete sets of this Work from the beginning of the first Volume, or from the beginning of the second, may be had of MR. BAGSHAW, *Bow Street, Covent Garden, or of any of the Newsmen in London or Westminster. The Work is published at three o'clock on Saturday, at the house of Mr. Bagshaw, and leaves London by the Saturday's post.*

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

The Gazette of the 18th inst. contains a Proclamation for proroguing the Parliament 'till the 16th of November next, then to meet for dispatch of busines.

PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

Downing Street, Sept. 15.—His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Douglas, of the Royal Marines, to be Equerry to his Royal Highness.

War Office, Sept. 13.—Commission in the Royal Regiment of Devon and Cornwal Miners, signed by the Lord Warden of the Stannaries. Dated July 13, 1802.—John Lemon, Esq. to be Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant and Colonel.

Ordnance Office, Sept. 13, 1802.—*Royal Regiment of Artillery*, Capt.-Lieut. Richard Buckner, to be Captain, vice E. Trelawney, resigned. Dated Sept. 9, 1802.—First Lieut. Thomas J. Forbes, to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Buckner. Dated as above.—Second Lieut. Wm. Johnston, to be First Lieut. vice Forbes. Dated as above.

War Office, Sept. 18, 1802.—2d Reg. of Drag. Assistant-Surgeon Edward Thornhill Luscombe, from Half-pay of the Royal Waggon Train, to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Coates, who exchanges.—3d Ditto, James Graham, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Hutchins, promoted.—7th Reg. of Light Drag. Harry Hankey Dobree, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Webbe, promoted.—8th Ditto, Alexander Kennedy Clarke, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Walker, promoted.—14th Reg. of Light Drag. Matthew Kemble, Gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Richardson, promoted.—19th Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. Henry Roberts, to be Captain, without purchase, vice Baily, promoted. Lieut. George John Sale to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Roberts. James Allerdice, Gent. to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Colgan, deceased.—20th Ditto, Cornet George Card to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Matthews, who retires.—21st Ditto, Capt. Broad Malkin to be Major, by purchase, vice Mayne, who retires.—28th Ditto, Capt. John Cooke, from the 26th Light Dragoons, to be Major, by purchase, vice Grant, promoted in the 72d Foot.—Hompesch's Mounted Riflemen, Ensign Richard Toulmin North, from the Coldstream Foot Guards, to be Captain, by purchase, vice Druval, who retires.—3d Reg. of Foot Guards, Colonel Daniel Henry Shaw, from the 7th West India Reg. to be Capt. of a Company, vice Maj.-Gen. Grosvenor, who exchanges. George Dashwood, Esq. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Campbell, removed to the 83d Foot.—12th Reg. of Foot, Ensign Edward Postlethwaite Page, to be Lieutenant, without purchase, vice Starke, deceased. . . . . Stewart, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Page.—19th Ditto, Assistant-Surgeon William Andrews to be Surgeon, vice Clarke, placed on Half-pay.—24th Ditto, Gaspard Erck, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Blake, promoted.—27th Ditto, Ensign Charles James Jones to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Pelly, promoted in the York Hussars.—35th Ditto, Lieut. Gregory Way to be Captain, by purchase, vice Coast, promoted in the 51d Foot. Ensign Edward Wright, from the 68th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Wray.—40th Ditto, Ensign Robert F. M. Browne to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Dunbar, promoted.—51st Ditto, Peter Robertson, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Robinon, promoted.—60th Ditto, Ensign James Hughes to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Maclean, promoted.—63d Ditto, Quarter-Master William Smith to be Adjutant,

with the rank of Ensign, vice Boyd, who resigns. Quarter-Master-Serjeant George Lynn, to be Quarter-Master, vice Smith.—67th Ditto, Assistant Surgeon Charles Quarterly, from Half-pay of the 4th Foot, to be Assistant-Surgeon, vice Nicholls, who resigns.—74th Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. Russell Manners to be Capt. vice James Campbell, deceased. Lieut. Breon Fletcher to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Manners. Lieut. James Grant to be Adjutant, vice Macleod, who resigns.—75th Ditto, John Williams, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Turner, promoted. Edward Tully, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase, vice Gray, promoted in the 77th Foot.—76th Reg. of Foot, . . . Fraser, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Watson, promoted.—77th Ditto, Ensign John Gray, from the 75th Foot, to be Lieutenant, vice Spalding, deceased.—78th Ditto, Montgomery Coane, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Hay, promoted.—84th Ditto, Capt.-Lieut. Richard Horton to be Capt. by purchase, vice Burgess, who retires. Lieut. Robert Cockburne to be Capt.-Lieut. vice Horton.—85th Ditto, Charles Bellock, Gent. to be Ensign, by purchase, vice Skoulding, promoted in the 9th Foot.—89th Ditto, Adam Dunscombe, Gent. to be Ensign, without purchase.—91st Ditto, Lieut. Robert Oswald, from the 35th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Orde, promoted in the 52d Foot.—92d Ditto, Ensign Thomas Best, from the 30th Foot, to be Lieutenant, by purchase, vice Bent, promoted in the 85th Foot.—3d West India Reg. Capt. Lewis Grant, to be Major, by purchase, vice Lord Charles Bentinck, promoted in the 38th Foot.—7th Ditto, Maj.-Gen. Thomas Grosvenor, from the 3d Foot Guards, to be Lieut.-Col. vice Shaw, who exchanges.—Queen's German Reg. Lieut. . . . . Zwicky, from Half-pay, to be Lieut. vice Tshudy, who exchanges. Lieut. Augustus Cappadose, from Half-pay of the 4th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Souville, who exchanges.

Brevet.—Col. Charles Baron Hompesch, of the Prince of Wales's Hussars, to be Maj.-Gen. in the Army. Commission dated May 3, 1796.

Memorandum.—The appointment of Lieut. John Matchett, from the 28th Light Drag. to be Adjutant in the 1st Reg. of Drag. Guards, with the rank of Lieut. as stated in the Gazette of the 14th of Aug. last, has not taken place.—Assistant-Surgeon George Cross, of the 1st Reg. of Drag. who was superseded in the Gazette of the 28th ultimo, is reinstated in the regiment.—The appointment of Cornet John Matchett to be Lieut. by purchase, in the 28th Reg. of Light Drag. vice Honeyman, promoted, as stated in the Gazette of 7th ult. has not taken place.—The appointment of Lieut. Henry Nooth to be Capt. by purchase, in the 7th Reg. of Foot, vice Hardyman, promoted in the 1st Battalion of the 1st Foot, as stated in the Gazette of the 4th instant, has not taken place.—The appointment of John Robson, Gent. to be Ensign in the 11th Reg. of Foot, vice M'Gregor, deceased, as stated in the Gazette of the 5th of January last, has not taken place.—The appointment of Lieut. Thomas Stephens Sorell to be Captain, by purchase, in the 84th Reg. of Foot, vice Burgess, who retires, as stated in the Gazette of the 5th of December last, has not taken place.—Hospital-Mates Gillespie and Dunne are superseded, being absent without leave.

Erratum in the Gazette of the 5th December last.—*84th Reg. of Foot.*—For Ensign William Ruddiman to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Sorell, promoted.—Read Ensign William Ruddiman to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Cockburne, promoted.

BANKRUPTS.

Ashby, John, late of Hinckley, Leicestershire, baker.—Allen, Joseph, of St. Mary Axe, London, merchant.—Brett, George, of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, grocer.—Burman, James, of Huddersfield, Yorkshire, grocer.—Cleasby, Stephen, of Austin Friars, London, merchant.—Fenwick, Thomas the elder and Fenwick, Thomas the younger, of Boston, Lincolnshire, drapers.—Grove, Peter, late of Snaresbrook, Essex, baker.—Gillatt, John, Joseph Hawksworth, and William Gillatt, now or late of Sheffield, common-brewers.—Leaver, Thomas, of Manchester, cotton-manufacturer.—Leaver, Thos. of Manchester, cotton-manufacturer.—Lock, Philip, of Avening, Gloucester, clothier.—Lowe, James, late of Little Bolton, Lancashire, butcher.—Morgan, Francis, of Liverpool, merchant.—Macfarlane, William, of Bethnall-Green, merchant.—Page, John William, now or late of Wood-street, London, merchant.—Prager, Joseph, late of Norfolk-street, Strand, broker.—Palmer, William, of Bristol, victualler.—Powell, James, late of Villers-street, Strand, merchant.—Ribbans, John, of Colchester, wine-merchant.—Tagg, Mary, of Bath, grocer.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI
3 per C. Con.	66⅞	69⅛	—	—	69⅛	69
5 pr Ct. Ann.	101⅝	101⅜	—	—	101	101¼
Imp. 3 per Ct.	—	69¼	—	—	68⅞	68⅞
D° Ann.	12⅝	—	—	—	12 3/19	12⅛
Omnium . . .	7 dis	7 dis	—	—	8¼ dis	8¼ dis

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Amster. c.f.	11 1½	2 us.	Leghorn	51½	
D°, at sight	10 19½		Naples.	43⅜	
Rotterdam	11 2½	2 us.	Genoa	47⅛	
Hamburgh	33 5	2½us.	Venice, 59 livrespiccole		
Altona. . . .	33 6	2½us.	effective per £. ster.		
Paris 1 day	23 12		Lisbon	67¼	
Paris.	23	2us.	Oporto	67½	
Bourdeaux,	24 1		Dublin.	19½	
Cadiz	36¼	eff.	Bilboa.	36¼	D°
Madrid . .	36½	effective	Agio, bank on Hol.		p.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	50s to 69s	Hops per cwt.	120s to 230s
Rye.	30 . . 34	Hay per load. . . .	80 . . 150
Barley.	31 . . 38	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt	46 . . 51	Mutton	5s. 0d. to 6s 0d.
Oats	14 . . 23	Veal	4s. 0d. to 6s. 0d.
Pease (white)	39 . . 42	Pork. . . .	5s. 6d. to 7s. 0d.
Beans (horse)	35 . . 38	Tallow	3s. 10d.
Flour per sack . .	50 . . 54	Av. of Sugar pr cwt	34s.3d
Seconds.	45 . . 50	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d.
Coals per chal. . . .	49 . . 45	Bread 10d the Quar. Loaf.	

Days.	Mirage	Weather near Guildford.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
16		Fine.	NW	NW	31	31	63	69
17		Fine.	SSW	SW	31	30,97	64,5	69
18	D	Fine.	SE	SE	29,97	29,91	63	71
19		Fine.	SE	SE	29,9	29,9	62	70,5
20		Fine	ESE	SE	29,9	29,89	63	70
21		very Fine.	SE	SE	29,91	29,91	64	72
22		Fine.	SE	SE	29,9	29,9	68,5	69

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.
Published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where all the former numbers may be had.